

The Sun.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 6, 1898.

Subscriptions by Mail, Post-Paid.

DAILY, per Month..... \$2 50
DAILY, per Year..... 28 00
SUNDAY, per Year..... 10 00
DAILY AND SUNDAY, per Year..... 38 00
DAILY AND SUNDAY, per Month..... 3 00
Postage to foreign countries added.
The Sun, New York City.

From—Kings No. 18, near Grand Hotel, and
Kings No. 10, Boulevard des Capucines.

If your friends who favor us with manuscripts for publication will to have received articles returned, they must in all cases send stamps for that purpose.

Intervention Without Independence?

Not less than seven different descriptions of the President's message were supplied yesterday from Washington. These were, in brief:

1. A strong message insisting that Cuba must be free and recommending armed intervention to free her.
2. A firm message recommending nothing short of forcible intervention.
3. A strong, explicit statement, and one with which Congress will be thoroughly in accord.
4. A message recommending intervention, but not the recognition of Cuba's independence.
5. Armed intervention to free Cuba, the time of such intervention to be left to the President's discretion.
6. The whole question to be turned over to Congress without recommendation.
7. A message showing that no cause for war exists at present.

These predictions were all equally positive and they covered nearly the whole range of possibilities.

It will be observed that in more than one of the seven forecasts appears the idea of forcible intervention unaccompanied by any demand for Cuban independence.

What would such intervention be? For what would the United States intervene under such a limitation?

To relieve the starving victims of Spanish inhumanity, and to prevent further bloodshed by terminating the war? That is the only conceivable ground for forcible intervention. If the United States is to intervene, it should then intervene to stop the fighting between the patriots and the oppressors, not as the friends of the patriots, but as impartial and disinterested guardians of the peace.

And what then? Suppose the Spaniards in the island should step aside and say to us: "Very well; go on and do police duty here. We ask nothing better. We ourselves have been trying for three years to end this war."

Suppose at the same time MAXIMO GOMEZ and his patriot followers should decline to discontinue their heroic struggle for Cuban independence. No one who knows the spirit that prevails in the heart and in the camp of the splendid old liberator can doubt that the answer of the Cubans would be to any suggestion of peace short of absolute and immediate independence. In what a position the Government of the United States would find itself then! We imagine that the people of this country are not quite yet prepared to send ships and soldiers to Cuba to compel the Cuban patriots to lay down their arms on the eve of Cuban triumph, in order to discuss anew with Madrid the various forms of half-liberty which they have steadily and sternly rejected from the first.

The proposition of any intervention which does not contemplate Cuban independence is preposterous. It is abhorrent to American sentiment and sympathies. Is it conceivable that President McKinley could deliberately propose such a policy or that Congress could accept it?

First of all Cuba must be free!

The Cannamaba Affair.

It will be interesting to see whether the proverbial Spanish policy of delay will avail in the case of Germany's demand for indemnity in the Cannamaba Affair. There the facts are said to be that about three weeks ago a band of insurgents attacked a German sugar refinery at Cannamaba, in the Trinidad district of Santa Clara province, and during the conflict some persons connected with the refinery were killed.

Germany's demand for satisfaction has been prompt, and it has been said that, unless full redress is forthcoming, she will take steps to secure it herself, beginning by sending a warship to Havana. Under ordinary circumstances, judging from her recent treatment of Hayti, she might do this; but, on the whole, in view of the present crisis in Spain's affairs, it is doubtful whether she will actually take such measures of coercion. It is not unlikely, however, that she may at least insist on an acknowledgment by Spain of the principle of indemnity.

But even that would have for us a great interest. The acknowledgment would be based on responsibility for all destruction of German property by the operations of the armed insurgents, on the ground that there is no technical state of war in Cuba. Even should a state of war be admitted hereafter, it could have no retroactive effect as to property destroyed before the admission. As the property of our citizens destroyed in Cuba is enormously greater than that of any other nation, it will be seen that if Baron von Bismarck insists on the acknowledgment of the principle of indemnity for insurgent operations in the Cannamaba case, it will have widespread consequences for all foreign nations.

The Cadiz Squadron.

The appearance of the Spanish torpedo flotilla at the Cape Verde islands has completely changed our prospective naval operations. When the flotilla was supposed to be on the direct course to Porto Rico, and when, also, the outbreak of war seemed only a few days or even hours away, it was clearly possible that the first hostilities might come from the arrest of this flotilla by Commodore SCHLEY's squadron.

Assuming that the flotilla could have been encountered on its way, a victory for the squadron was certain in advance; for the boats could have been sunk miles before they could reach the effective range of their torpedoes. The collision that accompanied them was, of course, equally sure, and the flotilla might have been surrendered without firing a shot.

The problem changed materially when the two Spanish armored cruisers Viscaya and Oquendo left Havana, presumably to meet and protect the flotilla. Then, for the first time, it became necessary to take along the Massachusetts to insure for Commodore SCHLEY's squadron superior battery power. The highest caliber of the Brook-

lyn, Columbia, and Minneapolis were the 8-inch, whereas the Spanish war vessels carried 11-inch rifles and also had heavy water-line armor. The Massachusetts far exceeded either Spanish ship both in armor and armament, and yet taking her was equivalent to retarding the progress of the squadron several knots an hour, so that it became a question whether the movement would not be too late.

Now, however, that proposed campaign practically disappears. It seems clear that the torpedo flotilla at Cape Verde, if it crosses at all, will come with a powerful escort, and hence the whole problem changes into that of a general fleet engagement. The Cadiz fleet which may accompany the Cape Verde flotilla consists, it is understood, of two powerful armored cruisers, namely, the Cristobal Colon and the Infanta Maria Teresa, with the old battleship Vittoria, the protected cruiser Alfonso XIII., the recently bought Giralda, and half a dozen torpedo craft, three of them of the destroyer type. Possible reinforcements are the Pelayo, Spain's powerful battleship, the reconstructed battleship Numancia, and the Carlos V., a new and as yet unfinished armored cruiser.

It is obvious that out of these could be picked a fleet which would wholly eclipse in importance the torpedo craft, even with the two divisions of the fleet, on the supposition of the starting of this fleet the other day. It is to be met with by Capt. SAMPSON's and Commodore SCHLEY's forces combined, or with such portions of them as can be of the best service in meeting it, when the departure of the Spanish ships is announced. Much will depend on news as to the movements of the flotilla at Cape Verde and the fleet at Cadiz.

The Maine Also Is in the Case.

Whether to-day's message from the President speaks or is silent concerning our lost battleship and its dead, the report of the Sampson Board of Inquiry continues to speak to every American heart, and never louder than to-day.

The crime of Feb. 15 will not down, it cannot be dismissed as a mere incident, or postponed as a non-essential factor. The wreck in Havana harbor and the graves of our murdered men cannot be shut out of sight. They are part of the case against Spain, and in the opinion of perhaps a majority of Americans the principal count in the terrible indictment.

This is a Maine day in Congress. Every day is a Maine day until the course we shall pursue with regard to Spain is definitely and finally determined.

The Right of the State to Regulate Occupations.

A correspondent who approves of the views which we recently expressed in reference to the proposed regulation of the business of barbers by a State commission at Albany, calls our attention to the case of ALLEGYER against Louisiana, decided by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1896, in which he says it was held "that the word liberty, as used in the Fourteenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution, comprehends not merely the right to freedom from physical restraint, but also the right to pursue any lawful occupation, and for that purpose to enter into all contracts that may be proper." The writer adds: "This decision seems to do away with all State nonessential commissions regulating the practice of medicine, horse-shoeing, barbering, &c."

Our correspondent is right in regarding the Allegyer case as an emphatic assertion of the inalienable privilege of the citizen to follow any of the common occupations of life. He is wrong, however, in supposing that the decision was so far reaching as to deny to the States the constitutional power to regulate such pursuits as the practice of medicine. On the contrary, the right of a State to insist upon certain qualifications on the part of medical practitioners within its own territory and to exclude from the practice of the profession all persons who do not possess those qualifications has been declared in the clearest language by the Supreme Court, speaking through STEPHEN J. FIELD, an sincere and lover of liberty as ever sat upon the bench.

The statute of West Virginia required every practitioner of medicine in that State to obtain a certificate from the State Board of Health that he was a graduate of a reputable medical college, or had practiced medicine in West Virginia continuously for a period of ten years prior to a date specified in the statute, or had been found qualified to practice as the result of an examination by the State Board itself. To practice or attempt to practice medicine without having complied with the statutory requirements was made a misdemeanor.

The validity of this legislation was unanimously upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of DENT against West Virginia, decided in January, 1889. We quote from the opinion:

"It is undoubtedly the right of every citizen of the United States to follow any lawful calling, business, or profession, and the State has the right to impose upon all persons of like age, sex, and condition. This right may in many respects be considered as a distinguishing feature of our republican institutions. Here all vocations are open to every one on like conditions. All may be pursued as sources of livelihood, some requiring years of study and great learning for their successful prosecution. The interest, or, as it is sometimes termed, the estate acquired in them, is the right to continue their prosecution, to offer their services to the possessor, and cannot be arbitrarily taken from them, any more than their real or personal property can be thus taken. But there is no arbitrary deprivation of such right when it is exercised in not permitted because of a failure to comply with the requirements of the State for the protection of society. * * * No one has a right to practice medicine without having the necessary qualifications of training and skill, and the State is only required that it should assume, by offering to the community its services as a physician, that he possesses such training and skill, shall present evidence of it by a certificate or license from a body designated by the State as competent to judge of his qualifications."

There is nothing in the Allegyer case to indicate a departure from the doctrine thus distinctly laid down in the Dent case. The Allegyer case involved the constitutionality of an insurance law of Louisiana, under which an attempt was made to force a citizen of that State for making a contract in New York for insurance upon his property. In holding the statute to be invalid, Mr. Justice PECKHAM said: "This does not interfere in any way with the acknowledged right of the State to enact such legislation in the legitimate exercise of its police or other powers, as to it may seem proper." The police power of the States has been held uniformly by the courts to be broad enough to embrace the right to regulate the practice of medicine as well as the practice of the law.

It is quite evident, however, that there are many pursuits to which the police

power does not extend so as to authorize the State to exact specified qualifications on the part of those who would engage in them. The State, for example, could hardly prohibit all persons from engaging in farming except those who had been educated in agriculture as a science; or all persons from acting as cooks except those who had shown themselves to be possessed of an expert knowledge of the culinary art. To establish and enforce regulations of such a nature would be to deprive men of the right to support themselves and their families by means of the ordinary callings of life, and could not be tolerated either in the domain of morals or in that of constitutional law. There are many occupations which are on the border line, as to which it may be said that the State has the power to regulate them or to leave them unfettered by regulations, as the Legislature sees fit. As to these, the wisest course is to let them alone, and thus give men the utmost possible liberty, consistent with the public welfare, to earn their living without interference by the State.

Large Politics and Small Politics.

A special committee of the Union League Club has made an elaborate report commendatory of the new Primary Election law in this State, and of Governor BLACK for the "earnestness and sincerity" with which he advocated its enactment.

The document might once have provoked much interest among Republicans, but at present larger and weightier matters are engaging their attention, and are likely to hold it for a long time to come. The question which concerns them and all other good citizens and patriots now does not relate to the mere details of party organization and the political personalities of a single State. The possibility and even the probability of war, involving the whole American people, overshadows all such minor matters and relegates them to obscurity. The people having a subject of real gravity to occupy their thoughts, the occasion of the struggles and heartburnings which gave rise to the movement described by this report has passed from their memories as of relatively trivial consequence.

We are in a time of infinitely larger politics than this Union League report deals with, and it is like going back to child's play to read a report of a committee of the Union League Club treating of "primary reform," as if it were just now the great question of the age.

A Telegraph Instrument.

The French Cable Company has a test station at the island of St. Thomas. With the consent of the Government of Denmark this could be made a public station by next Friday or Saturday. We may need to send a message there.

But that is not all. With the consent of certain chronic and irreconcilable opponents in Congress of annexation in any form or for any purpose, the telegraph station at St. Thomas could be made an American telegraph station.

The day may not be distant when that little instrument would be worth far more than \$5,000,000 to the American people.

The industrial field seems to be nearly exhausted of its resources for test making—*and Paul Olcott.*

The activity of the trusts and their shameless disregard of the powerful laws which have been hurried at them must keep many friends of humanity awake in the present night. What is to be done to put a book in the jaw of the levitation? If we may be permitted to give an opinion on the subject the Legislatures should sit every day in the year except Sundays and legal holidays, and should pass at least one act against trusts every session. With patient industry and plenty of laws, much may be hoped for.

Our esteemed contemporary, the *Bookman*, publishes the glad news that Prof. BRUNNEN MATTHEWS is about to enter the world with a novel called "Confident To-morrow," and that the name of the book was inspired by Col. THOMAS WESTWORTH HIGGINSON, who has announced himself as "a man of cheerful yesterday and confident to-morrow."

Prof. MATTHEWS has published his reminiscences of Col. HIGGINSON, and Col. HIGGINSON has borrowed the rest of the phrase. All this is of breathless interest to the student of contemporary literature. In the seventh book of a work called "The Excursion" are found the following lines:

"A man he seemed of cheerful yesterdays
And confident to-morrow."

We are informed that Mr. WOODSWORTH, doubting the poetic vision of Prof. MATTHEWS, borrowed these lines prophetically of Col. HIGGINSON.

The Missouri Populist State Committee has appointed a committee to "edit and formulate an address to the public showing that the Populist doctrine is the true *populist*." This address will be published by the Populist party, and it is to be hoped that the high eloquence is sure to be disengaged in the course of it. Still, the trouble with the People's party is that its amount of *pop* is vastly disproportionate to its amount of *populus*.

M. MAURICE MASTERLINCK, an industrious young gentleman of Ghent, is studied profoundly and reverently by the *Dial*. Those of us who have read M. MASTERLINCK's world with a grateful sense of the solemn delights of the parietic-fantastic manner, will be chastened when they learn that he believes the present age specially favorable to "great silent moments."

In Aglavaine and Seligman, the two Frenchmen, he is the present age was specially favorable to making yourself "beautiful" in a mystical and gibbering fashion. M. MASTERLINCK ought to take a few great silent moments for himself, but he will not so long as the Mercure de France mutual admiration society continues to howl for more "copy."

The Election in Rhode Island To-day.

Rhode Island holds its State election on the first Wednesday of April, and it will choose to-day a Governor, a Lieutenant-Governor, a Secretary of State, an Attorney-General, and a Treasurer, each for the term of one year. It will also elect a Senator, who will participate in the choice of a successor to the Hon. NELSON W. ALDRICH, who has been a member of the Senate since 1881, and whose present term will expire on the 4th of March, 1899. Mr. ALDRICH will doubtless be re-elected.

The Republicans of Rhode Island, at their Providence Convention on March 16, renominated Governor DYER and two of his associates in the present Administration, the Secretary of State and the Attorney-General. They put up new candidates for the two other State offices to be filled. They adopted as a declaration of their views on national questions the following truly American resolution:

"We sympathize with the unfortunate and distressed people of the island of Cuba, in their efforts to obtain a larger measure of liberty and security of their government. Recently we hope that wise counsels may prevail, and that the privations and sufferings of that gallant people may not longer be a reproach to our common humanity. Sincerely we desire to remain at peace with all the nations of the earth, but if the vindication of the national honor and the firm maintenance of well-considered principles of justice shall necessitate a resort to the employment of arms, we shall be glad to stand by the national defense and the supremacy of our flag."

At last year's State election in Rhode Island 24,000 votes were cast for the Republicans, 13,000 for the Democrats, 2,000 for the Prohibitionists and 1,300 for the Socialist candidates. Despite the magnitude of this defeat, the Democrats of Rhode Island have nominated a complete ticket for to-day's election. A curious feature of the election is that the Democrats have adopted a platform and prosecuted a canvass relating exclusively and deliberately to so-called "State issues," totally disregarding Federal matters or questions of national concern.

The Republican party, indeed, is the only

party in Rhode Island which has taken a firm and definite stand on national matters this year. In last year's elections the discussion of national questions by one party and State questions by the other was a marked feature of many contests, the conditions, however, being totally different from those which now engross the attention of intelligent American citizens everywhere.

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THE NEW ARMY MEASURE.

How the Bill Falls Short of the Organization Which the Infantry Needs.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN:—Sir: The immediate prospect of war with a European nation was apparently needed to awaken Congress to the military and naval necessities of the United States. The infantry of our army, although all right in personnel and equipment, has an organization that was long since discarded by all armies except those of the United States and China. In the days of the musketry, smooth-bore musket, when men fought shoulder to shoulder, the Colonel of a regiment held control of the ten companies placed under his command; but with the advent of modern weapons "extended order" fighting followed of necessity, and it was found necessary to divide the regiment into three units or battalions, each consisting of four companies, and under command of its Major, who controlled it directly when in action. Every European nation adopted this organization, some, like the German, putting even four battalions into a regiment. The United States went only part way in the right direction. The cavalry and artillery received the three-battalion formation, but the infantry, the principle being thus recognized as the right one; but the infantry, the "backbone" of every army, still retains, with us, the old, obsolete organization. Every report made to Congress by the different Secretaries of War from 1883 to 1897, has urged putting the infantry on the modern footing, but nothing has yet been done.

Mr. Hull's bill, now before Congress, providing for a reorganization of the line of the army, is a sore disappointment. It recognizes the necessity for the three-battalion formation for the infantry, but not until war is declared can the necessary change from obsolete to an efficient organization be made. It retains the present ten-company organization in time of peace, simply adding one Major to each regiment. When war is upon us, everything is changed. Two companies are formed into a battalion, each regiment, two "skel-ton" companies are filled out, officers are assigned to duties that they are not qualified to perform, and in each regiment will be appointed eighteen officers who will then for the first time wear shoulder straps. Again, the old soldier's regiment in each company will be swamped by the recruit in the proportion of four to one, so that the old soldier's bill would give us in time of war a regular infantry approximating in a force of volunteers.

If even that increase in cost be considered too great, organize our infantry regiments into two active battalions and one "skel-ton" battalion in time of peace, but give the "skel-ton" battalion its head, a Major, and the "skel-ton" companies their Captains. This would give the infantry a modern organization, and would draw its First Lieutenants and non-commissioned officers from the ranks of the active battalions of the three arms, although by far the most numerous, is left with an organization that is not adapted to the conditions of modern warfare, and must be cast aside when war is actually upon us.

It is said that the Military Committee of the House would gladly give up a bill providing for the infantry a modern organization, save for opposition on the ground of economy. An increase of only 2 per cent in the present cost of the army would give the infantry the same organization that the cavalry and artillery have, while the increase in efficiency might be 100 per cent.

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A POET DISCLOSES HIS OWN GENIUS.

He Declares That He Is the Champion Light-weight of England and America.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN:—Sir: I hereby wish to have your literary critic disdain his having branded me "the champion lightweight poet of America and England." It is a false statement; and at the same time it is cowardly on his part to have made it on such flimsy premises in the quoting of some drivel I had introduced in my poem with the intention of satirizing that class of humanity. You might as well quote Shakespeare's puns, and say he is a punner, and ignore the passages in his dramas by which his fame is lasting. As driver I succeeded; but his using the incidental stanza to show the quality of the entire poem is a trait of ungentlemanly cowardice unparalleled in newspaper criticism.

When prominent papers of the country have spent columns on the work, I am fearless to say that your organ is in need of more worthy critics than the one who has been so unjust and unmanly in his slurring notice of my poem, whom others have called dramatic in form and Scotch in intellect.